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ARTICLES:

- (1) Emperor Showa's words from Tomita memos (Part 1): Unpleasant feeling toward war described in careful language

NIHON KEIZAI (Page 39) (Abridged slightly)
July 21, 2006

Former Imperial Household Agency Grand Steward Tomohiko Tomita's diaries and notebooks portraying Emperor Showa's strong displeasure with Yasukuni Shrine's decision to enshrine Class-A war criminals along with the war dead contained many words of the emperor, who was not at liberty to express his candid views on such subjects as the

war and paying homage at the shrine. By sharing with Tomita his memories of the late Prime Minister Reiji-ro Wakatsuki, the emperor alluded to his difficult position that he was not allowed to speak from his heart.

The memorandum dated May 9, 1988, quoted the emperor as saying:

"I often recall memories of Prime Minister Wakatsuki. He used to say, 'The Diet and the lawmakers today (may mean 'back then') reflect the US Congress' drawbacks and the Japanese parliament's negative aspects.' He always avoided criticizing and blaming other people as much as possible. I often asked him about his hardships in early years of the Showa Period, but his lips were usually tight. He mostly talked about his experience of offering government bonds in London in his early days during the Russo-Japanese War."

Prime Minister Wakatsuki refers to Reiji-ro Wakatsuki, who served twice as prime minister before World War II. The first Wakatsuki administration experienced the banking crisis in 1927, and the second administration the Manchurian Incident in 1931. Although when Emperor Showa had questioned Wakatsuki is not clear, the emperor seems to have tried to learn the prime minister's difficult experiences.

The emperor also said to Tomita:

"Now, I can understand how Wakatsuki felt. People often ask me how I feel about the war and ask me questions about responsibility for the war, but I cannot answer them so easily because some are still around. That's why I talk about my trip to Europe, where I had a lot of fun."

Emperor Showa last visited Yasukuni Shrine in November 1975. Class-A

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war criminals were enshrined at Yasukuni in 1978, and the emperor stopped visiting there without offering any official reason.

The April 28, 1988, memorandum describing the emperor's displeasure with the enshrinement of Class-A war criminals was preceded by his feelings about the war in response to a question in a press conference held ahead of his birthday (April 29). The annual birthday press conference was a rare opportunity for the emperor to announce his views. The memo clearly tells that the emperor used extremely measured language.

In the birthday interview, the emperor said: "Above all, the last major war is the worst memory." He later explained it this way:

"I wanted to express my unpleasant feeling in response to a question asking about my sentiments regarding the war. I used the word 'dislike' in indirect reference to (cabinet ministers') comments on Yasukuni and China, as well."

On the August 15 end-of-the-war anniversary in 1985, then Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone visited the shrine in his official capacity. Such countries as China and South Korea reacted furiously to the visit. Cabinet ministers' statements on the responsibility for the war and Yasukuni Shrine caused much controversy in 1988. The emperor apparently tried to answer the question without directly commenting on the ministers' statements.

Tomita's diary had this entry under July 23, 1986: "These days, I have been called quite often to report to the emperor regarding Yasukuni, the textbook issue, and other matters." The emperor is believed to have spoken his mind to Tomita, whom he trusted.

(2) Editorial: Enshrinement of Class-A war criminals along with the war dead -- Emperor Showa's remarks carry special weight

ASAHI (Page 3) (Full)
July 21, 2006

Fourteen Class-A war criminals, including wartime prime minister Hideki Tojo, were enshrined in 1978 at Yasukuni Shrine. Though Emperor Showa had visited the shrine eight times after the war, he

stopped coming after that.

It was discovered that then Imperial Household Agency Grand Steward Tomohiko Miyata wrote down the words of Emperor Showa that were spoken from the heart. His memorandum noted that the Emperor expressed his displeasure about the enshrinement of the Class-A war criminals together with the war dead. He was quoted as saying. "That's why I have not paid a visit since then. That's how I feel in my heart."

It is now clear that Emperor Showa stopped visiting the shrine because of the enshrinement of Class-A war criminals along with the souls of the war dead.

The father of the chief priest of Yasukuni Shrine who decided to honor the Class-A war criminals was then Imperial Household Minister Yoshitami Matsudaira. The memo included the emperor's remarks on him: "I thought Matsudaira had a strong aspiration for peace. He was the child that did not understand the parent's mind."

Emperor Showa probably thought that had he visited the shrine that honors Class-A war criminals, it would negate the postwar history of

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Japan that was reborn as a pacifist nation.

We think that the emperor, being seen as the "symbol of the unity of the people" under the new Constitution rather than just the emperor himself, made a wise decision to stop paying homage at the shrine. We want to give special weight to the fact that he independently made that judgment even before China and other countries made an issue over the enshrinement of Class-A criminals together with the war dead.

Emperor Showa was the supreme commander of the Japanese Army and Navy before the war. He sent many soldiers to battlefields in his own name. The feelings of soldiers killed during the war toward the emperor may vary greatly. The emperor wanted to visit the shrine and console the souls of the war dead, which probably came from a natural feeling.

He probably thought that it was another matter to enshrine together with the war dead those senior military officers and politicians who had planned and launched the war. The emperor was quoted as saying, "Class-A war criminals were enshrined together with the war dead, even including Matsuoka and Shiratori." The memo evokes the impression that he was angry with former Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka and former Ambassador to Italy Toshio Shiratori, who had promoted the Tripartite Pact among Japan, Germany and Italy.

It had long been known through testimonies by his aides that Emperor Showa had expressed his displeasure with the enshrinement of Class-A criminals along with the souls of the war dead.

And yet, the claim that the enshrinement of Class-A war criminals at Yasukuni was really not the reason why he had stopped visiting the shrine has been floated a number of times by those who favor honoring war criminals at the shrine. Their position is that when Prime Minister Takeo Miki visited Yasukuni in 1975 in his private capacity, it created the issue of whether the emperor's visit to the shrine should be considered as a visit in his public or private capacity, and that Emperor Showa's cessation of his shrine visits should be viewed in this context, as a Sankei Shimbun editorial put it last August.

Such a claim was unreasonable from the beginning. The remarks of Showa Emperor unveiled through then Grand Steward Tomita will bring such an argument to an end.

The present Emperor has never visited Yasukuni Shrine. Even if he wants to offer condolences to the war dead, it is not possible to do so at Yasukuni Shrine as it exists now.

There is the need for a place where anybody can offer condolences to the victims of the war. It is a question to which we Japanese must find an answer, before being told to do so by China or South Korea.

Emperor Showa's remarks point that out.

(3) Editorial: Emperor Showa's feelings should be respected

NIHON KEIZAI (Page 2) (Full)
July 21, 2006

It has been revealed that Emperor Showa (Hirohito) expressed his strong displeasure at the enshrinement of Class-A war criminals at Yasukuni Shrine. According to a memorandum written by then Imperial Household Agency Grand Steward Tomohiko Tomita (now deceased), the

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emperor told Tomita: "That is why I haven't visited the shrine since then. That is my feeling." The late emperor made his final visit to Yasukuni in 1975. The highly reliable historical documents have revealed for the first time how the emperor felt about the enshrinement of Class-A war criminals.

There has been a heated debate over Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi's visits to Yasukuni Shrine. In addition, this issue has damaged Japan's relations with China and South Korea, resulting in bilateral summits being suspended. Following this new revelation, Japanese people should discuss the Yasukuni issue in a cool-headed manner and try to resolve it without being affected by the opinion of other countries.

Persons connected with the Imperial Household Agency were quoted as saying that the emperor stopped visiting the shrine because he was unhappy with the enshrinement of Class-A war criminals. But those supportive of the prime minister's visits to Yasukuni Shrine strongly rejected that idea. Some assert that since Prime Minister Takeo Miki paid homage at Yasukuni in the capacity of a private citizen, the emperor found it difficult to visit. The Tomita memo destroys the basis for this argument.

The emperor's expression of strong displeasure reflected his profound remorse regarding the past war, as well as his desire to maintain global peace and to keep faith with other countries, including the United States, Britain, and China. The late emperor's feelings must be respected.

Emperor Showa stopped visiting Yasukuni Shrine following the inclusion of Class-A war criminals in the list of war dead honored there in 1978, but his deep sorrow and regret remained unchanged. Despite his advanced age, the emperor attended the Aug. 15 memorial service for all the war dead every year and expressed his sorrow and desire for peace.

It is reasonable to offer our deep condolences and appreciation to the war dead. In this respect, paying homage at Yasukuni Shrine should not be denied. But it is also true that it is difficult to obtain understanding both inside and outside the nation regarding the enshrinement of Class-A war criminals. Japan must keep in mind that public opinion in the US and Europe, in addition to that in China and South Korea, is also critical of the enshrinement of war criminals at Yasukuni.

Prime Minister Koizumi says that Yasukuni is a matter of the heart, but the issue is not so simple. We keenly hope that Prime Minister Koizumi and other persons concerned will behave in an appropriate manner while taking seriously the historical background behind the late emperor's feelings.

(4) Perilous provocation -- North Korea missiles: Abe played leading role, backed by hot line between Prime Minister's Official Residence and US

NIHON KEIZAI (Page 2) (Full)
July 20, 2006

Hiroshi Maruya, Washington

"Don't do anything that will put Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi in a predicament." US President Bush gave only this instruction to his staff before they engaged in diplomatic horse-trading at the United

Nations over North Korea's missile tests.

Following this instruction, Presidential Assistant for National Security Affairs Hadley played his part in the White House. Hadley traveled with the president from Washington to Germany to Russia. Getting Chief Cabinet Secretary Shinzo Abe's cell phone number from a concerned official, Hadley kept in contact with Abe. This contact between Hadley and Abe was the "hot line" between the Prime Minister's Official Residence (Kantei) and the White House.

On the morning of July 14, the US Eastern Time, a video conference was held among three officials: Hadley, who was then abroad, Secretary of State Rice, and Ambassador to the UN Bolton, who was

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then in New York. Referring to a resolution submitted to the UN Security Council (UNSC), Rice told Bolton: "I will leave when to put the resolution to a vote to your judgment." Then Hadley confirmed that Japan and the US would work together. Immediately before this conference, Abe met with US Ambassador to Japan Schieffer and the two discussed how to handle the UN Charter's Chapter 7, a reference to which means to impose sanctions. Hadley again contacted Abe to convey to him the US administration's final position that was determined on the basis of what Abe and Schieffer had discussed.

Ambassador Bolton is known for his tough stance, and before becoming ambassador to the UN, he served as under secretary of State for arms control. In contrast, the State Department repeatedly pointed out the importance of international cooperation; as a result, the language "sanctions" disappeared (from the resolution). Around then, some in the Japanese government voiced this concern: "The delicate relationship between Secretary Rice and Ambassador Bolton may affect the fate of the resolution." The role played by Hadley was to unify the Bush administration's view and negotiate with Japan.

While letting Japan lead negotiations in the UN, the Bush administration kept close attention on China's moves. On July 10, when the adoption of the resolution was put off, Hadley told Abe: "China is saying, 'If more time were given to us, we could persuade North Korea.' Let give a chance for China to do so." The idea was viewed as a tactic to make China more responsible for North Korea. While setting the deadline for the adoption of the resolution at just before the start of a US-China summit meeting, Japan and the US adamantly stuck to Chapter 7. This was intended in order to see China's reaction.

According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA), there had been no hot line in the past between the Kantei and the White House. The hot line was put in motion by Hadley's first congratulatory phone call to Abe to express congratulations on his assumption of the post of chief cabinet secretary. Last year, when Abe visited the US as deputy secretary general (of the Liberal Democratic Party), he met with Hadley. This spring, the two worked in close coordination in arranging a meeting between the Japanese abductee Megumi Yokota's mother and the president.

Once the North Korean issue came under the direct control of the White House, the Kantei, instead of MOFA, can sit at the negotiating table with the US. Hadley thus can make contacts with Abe via the cell phone wherever he may be on the globe. This in part reflects the White House view that Abe is a powerful candidate to succeed Prime Minister Koizumi, but the stronger reason is that Hadley and Abe are both in charge of foreign policy coordination.

"It was of great significance for the resolution to be unanimously adopted by the UNSC. This is proof that Japan and the US have maintained the solidity of the alliance. We have been able to come to this point thanks to Chief Cabinet Secretary Abe's leadership." Yesterday evening, Ambassador Schieffer telephoned Abe and thanked

him in that way. Abe told Schieffer: "I am thankful for the close cooperation of Presidential Assistant Hadley and other officials involved."

The true value of this sort of the Japan-US hot line will be tested in terms of how it will respond to the changing international situation, including North Korea, after Koizumi steps down.

(5) METI eager to spread "Hinomaru oil" projects and will send delegation to Libya soon

SANKEI (Page 2) (Full)
July 18, 2006

Focusing on a number of unexplored oil fields in Libya, Japan has high expectations of that nation as a promising oil supplier in the future. The Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (METI), with the aim of strengthening bilateral relations with Libya, has decided to dispatch a delegation of senior officials to that country shortly. Libya introduced an international open bidding system for oil concession rights last year. The third bid has been planned for this fall. Japanese oil development companies and trading houses are eager to participate in the bid. METI is willing to construct a system to offer indirect support for private firms' efforts to increase the ratio of "Hinomaru oil" (independently developed oil supply) through the planned visit of its senior officials.

Meeting with METI Minister Toshihiro Nikai on July 13, visiting Libyan National Oil Corp. Chairman Shukri Ganem said he expected Japanese firms to participate in the bid by Japanese firms. In response, Nikai decided to dispatch a delegation headed by a senior vice minister or the Natural Resources and Energy Agency director general, saying: "It is necessary for the government to show its eagerness."

METI came up with the nation's new energy strategy this May, which calls for raising the ratio of Japan's independent oil development from the current 15% to 40 as part of efforts to revise up its energy security. Although Japanese firms acquired concession rights for the Azadegan oil field in Iran in 2004, uncertainty is now looming large over the feasibility of the development due to the negative effect of Iran's alleged nuclear development. Given this, the government needs to be hurriedly seek oil-exploitation rights for other oil fields.

The energy agency is going to make arrangements for the public and private sectors to take a joint approach to oil-producing countries. An official of the Oil and Natural Gas Development said: "Keeping favorable relations with oil producers will result in assisting private firms."

Libya is situated on the western side of Egypt and has about 39 billion barrels of underground deposits of oil in 2004, recording the 9th place. Western countries had slapped economic sanctions on that nation for its alleged development of weapons of mass destruction, but the US normalized diplomatic ties with Libya this May in response to its disbandment of its development program.

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From Japan, Teikoku Oil Co., Nippon Oil Corporation and other firms took part in the second bid held in October of last year. As a result, five companies - these two companies, Japan Petroleum Exploration Co., Inpex Corporation, and Mitsubishi Corporation - acquired concession rights for six oil fields out of 26. Each company is willing to also become successful bidders in the next bidding.

The Libyan government expects Japanese firms to join projects to construct plants to manufacture oil petrochemical products and offer technology, as well, in addition to oil field development. Nikai commented: "We would like to offer cooperation in a wide range of areas, not limited to energy."

SCHIEFFER